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Fig. 16. A man, in front of his hut. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 17. A man, with frontlet of birdskin. Choroti. Tatarenda camp. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[p. 36 is blank]

361 (material for roofing huts), the Indians are apt to build their villages in
824 the proximity of some grove, or forest, of palms (›palmar‹). As a case in instance, the Choroti village at Tatarenda was situated quite close to a palm grove, and not very far from a largish palm forest. It is of im-
[262] portance that algaroba trees should be growing in the neighbourhood, as the fruit of this tree plays a prominent part in the food arrangements of these Indians.

342 The huts are of a very primitive character, and are built in the following manner; With a digging-stick (fig. 27) of hard, heavy wood, a succession of
142 holes is dug, or jabbed, in the ground, so as to
291 form a circle with a diameter of 2 metres or upwards.
301 In each of these holes is planted an unlopped, bent-
412 grown branch, thick end downwards, so that the tips of the branch point towards the centre of the circle. By this means a cupola-shaped frame is formed (fig. 26). This frame is covered with a thick layer of palm leaves and grass (figs. 16, 25), unless palm leaves are difficult to obtain, when the hut will be covered with grass only, although huts thatched in this way have less rain resistance. But even the most carefully built Choroti huts are, however, poor enough dwellings which, in any heavy downpour of rain, are unable to keep those inside them from a wetting.

Fig. 18. A man holding a pestle in his hands. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The huts have one, or even two, entrances, about one metre in height (figs. 16, 25), but huts of the largest size are sometimes provided with several entrances. A sort of porch, constructed of branches and grass, may occasionally be built out from the entrance. When several huts are close together, they may not unfrequently be connected with each other by means of covered passages, or tunnels, built similarly to the huts.

352 The latter do not contain many utensils. Ranged along the wall, bowls
415 made of gourd shell, a few clay vessels and a wooden mortar, are gene-
824 rally seen. In prettily knitted net bags of spun caraguatá fibre,[1] the Choroti keep all manner of small articles, such as mussel-shell spoons,

[1] Caraguatá, or chahuar (chaguar), Bromelia serra, is, as I have already pointed out, especially common in the Chaco.

wooden sticks for fire-drilling, toilet articles, magic rattles, etc.

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Fig. 34. A boy and a girl (age probably about 10). The boy is wearing a frontlet and armlets, made from palm leaves. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 30. Men and women. Back row (8 individuals): men and youths. Front row (4 individuals): women. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

CHAPTER II.

The Choroti (2). Dress and ornaments.

Men's dress. Garments of protection against arrows, fish-bites and thorny plants. Hair-dressing. Frontlets. Hair-nets. Head ornaments of feathers, etc. Ear-lobe discs. The ear-boring custom. Necklaces. Armlets. Anklets. Finger rings. Dress and ornaments of the women. Tattooing. Painting of the face. Cutting the hair short. Pulling out of hairs. Toilet articles and their receptacles. Lack of cleanliness. Phthiriophagy.

291 On account of the warm climate of the Chaco, the Choroti do not require much in the way of dress. The smaller children are always completely naked (fig. 23), and when the men are engaged in any harder kind of work, they then usually only wear a woollen apron, passed between the legs and fastened in front and behind to a string made of caraguatá fibre or wool, tied round the waist (figs. 16, 18 and 30). Occasionally they fasten pieces of cloth, of different sizes, round the waist without tucking them between the legs (fig. 30). I have also seen Choroti men wearing broad, fringed, leather belts (fig. 31), but these skirt-like garments seemed to be of rather rare

[p. 49]

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286 291 the same colour on either side. Beside these six groups of stripes, there is a thin, greyish white stripe running along each of the longer edges of the mantle. The garment is woven in one piece. In the centre of the

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Fig. 32. Choroti Indians. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

mantle there are figures sewn with reddish brown, woollen-yarn (fig. 34), probably property marks.[1]

291 When engaged in work or pastimes, the Choroti men usually take off their mantles. In »our» Choroti village we therefore always saw a large proportion of the men going about practically naked (figs. 16, 18 and 171).

[1] Cf. Nordenskiöld (18), p. 32.

292 feathers, tied inside a woven or plaited fillet, usually no more than a
302 centimetre wide, of coarse caraguatá, or woollen-yarn (fig. 45).

And it is also principally at dances that the men of the Choroti wear a sort of knitted skullcaps of woollen-yarn, net-like, and with a chin strap.

[142 301 304 322]

Fig. 39. A man with a woven frontlet of wool (greyish-white and brownish-black), and ear-lobe discs of wood. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[531] These hair-nets are often studded with snail-shell spangles (fig. 46), or the chin straps decorated with down (fig. 47). With the magic character of these and other ornaments from the Chorotis, I shall deal in a later chapter.

[should be Choroti — analyst]

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translated »big ears» — an appellation subsequently transferred to all such tribes within, or in the neighbourhood of, the Inca kingdom, among whom the wearing of ear-lobe discs was customary.

In our days, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is met with among a number of tribes distributed over the whole of that part of South America which lies to the north of the tropic of Capricorn.[1] On the Chaco, ear-lobe discs are extensively worn by the Choroti, Lengua[2] and Ashluslay, and are also found among some of the Mataco and Toba Indians.[3] Also in North America the custom of wearing ear-lobe discs, or blocks, appears to be very ancient.[4] The wearing of this kind of ear discs is, however, not limited to America, but is also found, among other places, in Central Africa.[5]

Fig. 52. Brush-like ornament of false hair, for wearing pushed in under the frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia.[6] n. Riksm. 03. 3. 65.

Among the Choroti, all the men and youths have their ear-lobes pierced, and in the holes they wear discs (see for instance figs. 17, 30, 39, 53). These discs were almost always used for everyday wear, and invariably on state occasions. It very seldom happened that I saw a Choroti man without his ear-discs. Latterly, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs has, in the same way as other old customs once prevalent among the Choroti, become less common, and nowadays it seems that the Choroti, for everyday use at least, often appear without their discs. The piercing of the ear-lobes is performed with a bone awl, or cactus spine, already during boyhood, but I did not see any boys under puberty age wearing discs. Neither is there anything in the literature indicating that Choroti boys put on ear discs before that age.[6]

But, on the other hand, immediately on having had their ear-lobes pierced, the Choroti children take to wearing bits of grass, or very slender

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), map 18.
[2] Koch (1), p. 218, and Hawtrey (1), p. 283.
[3] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 122.
[4] See for instance Moore (2), p. 282.
[5] von Rosen (4), plate 7, fig. A, and von Rosen (7), p. 124.
[6] When it has been stated that the wearing of ear-lobe discs has nothing to do with pubescence [Nordenskiöld (12), p. 68], this is correct only in so far as the ear discs of the Choroti, like the tembeta of the Chiriguano, may, perhaps, first and foremost be attributed with a magical significance, and that their character of being symbols of puberty is only a secondary one. Cf. Karsten (4), p. 155.

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sticks, in the holes that have been made, in order to keep them from closing up. After the healing of the wound, these plugs are, however taken out, and it is only when the boys have reached the age of puberty, that the ear-lobe is gradually distended by means of plugging with a succession of ear blocks, or ear-lobe discs, of increasing sizes. Only youths of mature age, and men, are allowed to take part in certain religious dances. At the performance of these, it is of especial importance to be protected from evil spirits. According to the belief of the Indians, ear discs afford them such protection,[1] and it is therefore possible that this is the reason why the boys begin wearing ear discs only after having attained puberty. For reasons which I shall explain below, I consider that the *piercing of the ear-lobes by no means always implies wearing of ear-lobe discs*. Among the Choroti, the ears of little girls are often pierced in the same way as in the case of the boys[2] (see the woman with pierced ear-lobes in fig. 22), *but never once did I see a Choroti woman wearing discs in her ears*, nor is there in the literature on these Indians any photographic evidence to be found, as far as I know, of Choroti women wearing ear discs. Further; neither Baron Erland Nordenskiöld,[3] nor Doctor Rafael Karsten, both explorers who have lived for a long time among the Choroti, are now able to recollect with any certainty having seen any Choroti woman wearing ear discs.

To cause bleeding by perforating the skin, has among the Chorotis — as among other tribes in the Chaco — a magic significance, and the possession of many scars is considered a great advantage. Thus, for instance, the Chaco Indians will with ostentation and satisfaction show even scars from bites of the paloneta fish. When the Choroti believe themselves possessed by some evil spirit, they prick themselves with sharp-pointed bone awls, and imagine that the spirit leaves the body with the outflowing blood. About this custom, Karsten writes: »If the arm fails or trembles in pulling the bow, its weakness is, according to the belief of the Chorotis, due to the presence of a mohsek in the blood and they think that the evil demon will leave the body with the blood drawn. The scars left by the cuts are kept up with care and shown with satisfaction,

[1] Karsten (4), p. 194, and Grubb (1), p. 72.

[2] Nordenskiöld observed in a Choroti village that *all* the girls had their ears pierced. According to a letter of his, dated 13 May, 1921. Rockefeller collection of manuscripts, volume 1921, letter N.

[3] According to letter referred to in footnote 2.

? I should be Chorotis. - Andy

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171 Among the Ashluslay, who are neighbours of the Choroti, *only the men wear ear-lobe discs*, which probably is also the case among the Toba.[1]

As I have pointed out in the foregoing, in their culture the Lengua are very closely related to the Choroti, and therefore it would be of especial interest to obtain exact knowledge as to how the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is applied among the first-mentioned tribe. In the literature on the Lengua we find a definite statement by the distinguished explorer, Koch-Grünberg, to the effect that among the Lengua it is *exclusively* the men who make use of ear discs,[2] whilst the equally prominent Chaco expert, Grubb, says that it is *chiefly* the men who wear these ornaments.[3] Grubb has published the picture of a woman who has distended holes in her ears, but is *without discs*.[4]

From the statements made by Koch-Grünberg and Grubb, I think it probable that among the Lengua, as among the Choroti, it is the rule that ear discs are worn exclusively by the men, but that exceptions may occur. That such exceptions must be of extreme rarity is as obvious as could be desired, from the fact that Koch-Grünberg never saw a single Lengua woman wearing ear discs.

301 322 Among the Choroti, the ear discs are made of wood, cane, gourd shell or palm leaves. In the wooden discs, the front face is flat and often metal-mounted (figs. 53 and 54), or has ornament burned in (fig. 55); the rear face is usually convex and, as a rule, provided with a hole bored or burned into it, sometimes forming a perforation right through the disc. Occasionally the cylindrical surface of the discs is decorated with ornament burned in.

301 The long necklaces of snail-shell spangles, like most other ornaments among the Choroti, are worn exclusively by men. These necklaces usually have a length of several metres, and rank as highly valued possessions; it is exceedingly difficult to obtain such a treasure from a Choroti by barter. The most elegant of the men often wear several necklaces of this

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 68.

[2] »Diese Pflocke sind *ausschliesslich eine Zierde des männlichen Geschlechts; die Frauen tragen sie nie*. Das erste Anlegen des Pflockes ist eine Art religiöser Feier, bei der sie nicht gern einen Fremden dulden.» Koch (1), p. 218. Italics by von Rosen.

[3] »Wooden ear-discs are worn as ornaments, chiefly by the men.» Grubb (1), p. 73. Hawtrey, who has also written about the Lengua, does not say whether only the men wear ear discs, but he has described these objects in connexion with other objects of a more or less magic character, which *as a rule* are worn by men. Hawtrey (1), p. 283.

[4] Grubb (1), the top picture on the plate behind page 73.

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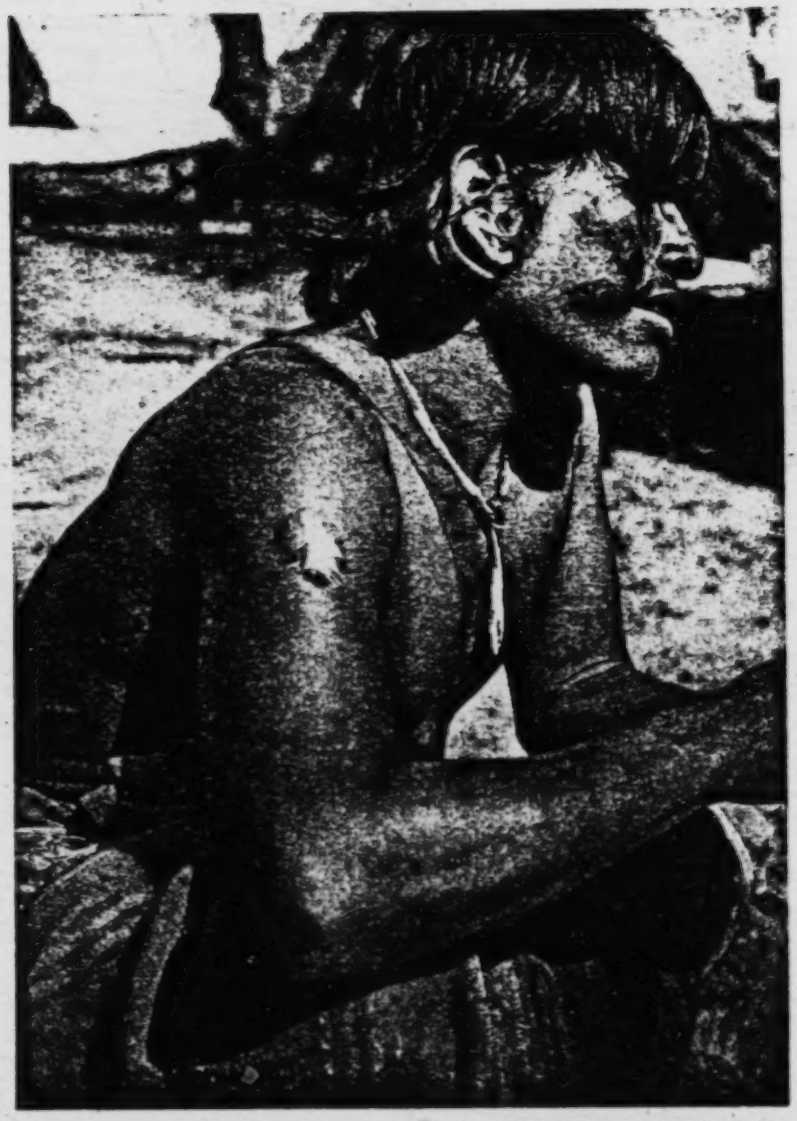

Fig. 53. A man with ear-lobe discs, set with pieces of tin. On his right upper arm is seen the scar from the terrible bite of a palometa fish (Serrosalmo sp.). Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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kind, the total length of which may amount to as much as 15 metres. Thus, for instance, the ornamental outfit seen in fig. 56 consists of two necklaces, respectively 4.30 and 4.61 metres long. 301

Necklaces of mussel- or snail-shells of the shape shown in fig. 57 and 58 are also popular. The necklace, fig. 57, consists of 15 spangles made from shells of the common river mussel of the Chaco. The spangles, which are only slightly more than one millimetre thick, are chipped or ground into more or less circular shape, and in, or near, their centre have a perforation right through. Through these holes a string is threaded, so as to keep the spangles fixed in the way shown in the picture. On the reverse sides the spangles retain the rough, greenish brown surface of the mussel-shell; their front sides display the mother of pearl lustre peculiar to the inner side of mussel-shells. In each spangle the front face is pitted with 4 to 5 shallow borings, which either have a magical significance, or may be only designed to enhance the decorativeness of the necklace. 301 321

Fig. 54. Ear-lobe discs, of wood with tin mountings. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Rikem. 03. 3. 57.

Fig. 55. Ear-lobe disc of wood, bored right through. On its cylindrical surface ornament has been burned in. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Rikem. 03. 3. 56.

[531]

The tags on the necklace shown in fig. 58 consist of rectangular slabs of mussel- or snail-shells. These slabs, which have been very neatly chipped into shape, possess on their front sides a beautiful mother-of-pearl lustre, although they are not of such high opalescence as the spangles in the necklace, fig. 57. The front side of each tag has 3 to 5 shallow borings, the hinder side is bone white. Necklaces of this kind, with quadrilateral tags of mussel- or snail-shell, are specially characteristic of the Chaco.[1]

The Choroti have acquired glass beads from the Europeans, but such beads are far less valued than spangles or the thin plates of snail- or mussel-shells. 301 439

[1] Krickeberg (1), p. 132.

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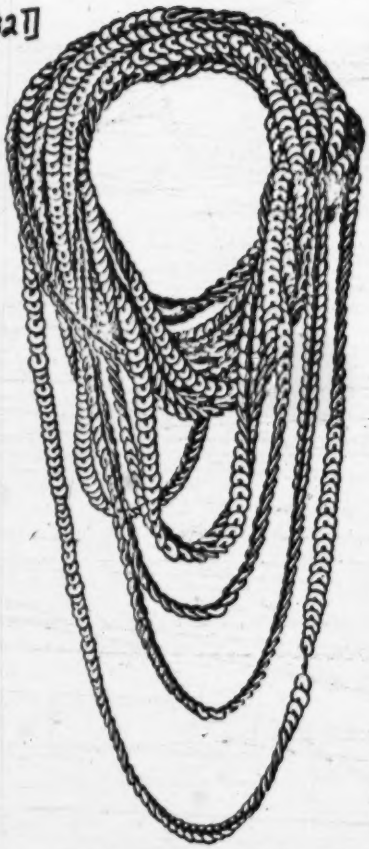

Fig. 56. Ornament consisting of two necklaces formed by perforated and threaded snail-shell spangles. One of the necklaces is 4 m 30 cm long, the other 4 m 64 cm. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Riksm. 03. 3. 45 & 46.

Fig. 57. Necklace of mussel-shell discs. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Riksm. 03. 3. 49.

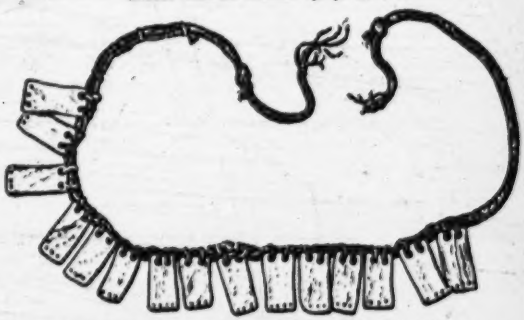

Fig. 58. Necklace of plates of mussel- or snail-shells. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 48.

mussel-shells. Necklaces worn by the women (figs. 61 and 62) as a rule consist of glass beads, but I saw men, too, wearing this kind of ornament (figs. 17 and 53).

The men adorned themselves with armlets, generally consisting of a narrow strip of birdskin, with the down, mostly white, left on (fig. 151). But armlets made out of white-haired oxhide, or palm leaf (fig. 24), were also of common occurrence. Another kind of armlet, which I less frequently saw, consisted of a narrow woollen-band, with snail-shell spangles sewn on (fig. 171, the man on the left in the foreground).

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Round the ankles the men often wear birdskin bands, in appearance similar to the armlets (fig. 30, the second man from the left). There may also be seen anklets made up from ostrich feathers lashed on to a thickish cord of caraguatá or wool (fig. 59). According to what several Choroti Indians told me, anklets are worn not only as ornaments, but also as a protection against snakebite. If a man wearing feathered anklets should happen to step upon, or close to, a snake, the latter, my informants assured me, would almost for certain first strike at the showy feathers. This warns the man of his danger, and he will generally have time to jump aside before the snake is ready to strike again. This belief is also found among the Lengua.[1]

Fig. 59. Anklet, made of ostrich feathers tied round a thickish piece of string. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 93. 3. 34, a.

The articles of dress, as well as the ornamental objects,[2] that I have described in this chapter, are, as I have said, only such things as appertain to the stronger sex; but one ornament, however, which to an equal extent is worn by men as well as women, is the finger ring made of lizard skin (fig. 60). These rings are made in a rather original manner. Anybody wanting rings, whether for himself or for giving away, kills a lizard. The part of the animals tail that in thickness about equals the size of a human finger, is cut, according to its segments, into slices from 2 to 5 mm wide, and then the inside of the sections is removed. The rings are now ready for use, and it only remains to try them on for the best fit. As we know, the tail of a lizard tapers towards the tip, and this makes the rings differ somewhat in size, so that it is no difficult matter to find rings to fit any sizes in fingers.

Fig. 60. Finger ring of lizard skin. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 93. 3. 35.

[1] Grubb (1), p. 72.

[2] Many of these ornaments have a magical character. In Chap. VI I shall deal with this point more fully.

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291 [77] The women of the Choroti, especially the younger ones, have very generally adopted the woman's garment common among the Chiriguano, which is called »tipoy» and consists of a cloak-like covering hanging from the shoulders, where it is secured with cactus spines (fig. 62). The cloth forming the material of these tipoys, is an acquisition by the Choroti from the whites. I saw Choroti girls that had not troubled to sew their tipoys together, but thought it sufficient to pin the edges together with cactus spines down one side. Occasionally the girls wore the tipoy from the hips, as seen in fig. 61. The original garb of the Choroti women consists of a deer skin, or a length of home-woven woollen cloth wrapped round the hips (fig. 21), leaving bare the upper part of the body. Nowadays one only sees elderly women dressed in this way.

301 Contrasted with the men, the women have very few, and very unpretentious, ornaments. The girls wear a necklace or two, made from glass beads or porcelain buttons (fig. 61 and 62), and lizard-skin finger rings. Now and again one may see a woman with armlets, or finger rings, consisting of threaded glass beads, pieces of leather or palm leaf (fig. 62, the girl on the extreme right, and fig. 152).

302 304 The practice of decorating the face by tattooing and painting is common to both sexes. The men, however, are not always tattooed, which, on the other hand, is the case with the women. Painting of the face, which may safely be assumed to possess magic significance,[1] is performed by men as well as women on all important occasions.

304 Whilst it is the prerogative of the men to adorn themselves with the showier ornaments, it is generally the women who display the more abundant tattooing (cf. figs. 63—66 and 71—76). The tattoo marks that a fully grown Choroti woman wears on her face, have not been worked on her all at the same time, but during different phases of her life as she grows up. According to Nordenskiöld, the Choroti begin tattooing their children already when the latter have reached an age of from 5 to 7 years,[2] and thenceforth various designs are added as the years pass. As a rule, the men are not tattooed, or they may have just a few tattoo marks (fig. 63), and it is exceptional to see Choroti men as profusely tattooed as the men in figs. 64—66.[3] As I have already pointed

[1] Se Chap. XII.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[3] Compare, with this for instance, Lehmann-Nitsche (1), pp. 80 and 81, and Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 69 and 70.

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Fig. 61. Choroti girls, wearing »tipoys» from the hips. The girl farthest on the left is wearing a necklace of porcelain buttons. The other necklaces consist of glass beads. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Fig. 62. Choroti girls with »tipoys» fastened over the shoulders with cactus spines. The necklaces are of glass beads. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 152. A Choroti girl who has put decayed tree stumps on top of the fire in order to preserve it until again needed. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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In previous works on the Indians of the Chaco, there is to my knowledge nothing said about the Choroti possessing whistles made of bone. These Indians do, however, use such whistles, which are made of bird bones (fig. 164). These whistles are open at both ends, so that two notes can be produced; if one closes the lower end of the whistle with the finger, one naturally obtains a note differing from the one given by the open whistle. In the bone whistles, the blowing-end is partly stopped up with wax.

Fig. 165 shows a remarkable type of whistle, which is very common in the Chaco. This whistle consists of an oval, flat piece of wood, bored through in the way seen from the figure. On one side it has a sheeting of tin, which originally had a serrated edge all round, like a cog-wheel. Most of the teeth are, however, worn away, but on the left half of the mounting the serrations are almost intact. The mounting is set on the wood by means of some waxy substance. The reverse side of the disc is without any mounting or other ornamentation. For carrying this whistle there is a plaited cord of red, woollen-yarn, which is decorated with a few snail-shell spangles. The object in question is evidently very old, as one of the holes which originally served for fastening the carrying cord has become useless through the cord having worn through the wood, which is of very great hardness, in the way seen from the figure. A new hole for the cord has therefore had to be bored. Oval whistles of this kind, ornamented on one side, are worn as breast ornaments by most Choroti, and are also found among the Ashluslay, Chané, Chiriguano, Churúpa, Lengua, Mataco, Tapiete, Toba and Yuracáre.

Fig. 165. Disc-shaped, wooden whistle; on one side mounted with a piece of tin, the other side unmounted. On the figure, the dotted lines mark the boring. This object is meant to be worn as a breast ornament string round the neck. The carrying string consists of red, woollen yarn, and is decorated with a few snail shell spangles. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. ¹/₁. Rikom. 03. 3. 314.

[17] 301

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

534 and Yuracáre. Outside the Chaco, and the regions bordering on it, this type of whistle has not, so far, been found.[1] It is noteworthy that, generally speaking, these whistles have been given a similar, very characteristic, ornamentation. It is only such whistles as originate from the Yuracáre that form an exception from this rule.[2] The ornamentation, which is usually carved in the wood, in low relief, consists of a figure more or less [531] resembling a cogwheel, with a wheel-cross in its centre (fig. 166). Such whistles as have a tin mounting are sometimes without the wheel-cross (see fig. 165).

789 This ornamentation is probably of some magical significance.[3] For the 534 fact is that these disc-shaped whistles are not only a combination of 531 ornament and musical instrument, but they 301 are also put to magical use. Karsten relates that the Choroti Indians, whilst performing their exorcismal dances, now and then blow their disc-shaped whistles to scare off evil spirits.[4]

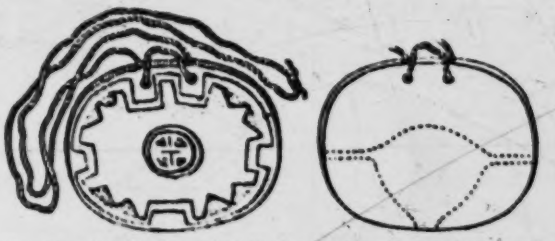

Fig. 166. Disc-shaped, wooden whistle, one side with carved ornaments, the other side plain. Used like the whistle in fig. 165. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/2. Gothenburg Museum. D. 793. From Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 56.

In a monograph on whistles I have endeavoured to show that the practice of carrying ornamental whistles is of remote antiquity in America, and I think I have adduced very strong evidence of the so called »mesh-spacers» of antler or polished stone, that have been found in graves in North America, being, as a matter of fact, used as ornamental whistles, and possibly of a magical character.[5]

534 The disc-shaped Choroti whistles are blown at the lower aperture (see figs. 165 and 166), and with the same technique in blowing as described in connexion with the description of the flute in fig. 162. By the closing

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 188 and 189.

[2] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 188.

[3] Of the wheel-cross having been, and still being, also in America the characteristic symbol of the sun, we possess reliable proof. See e. g. Frobenius (1), fig. 298. Cf. also d'Alviella (1), pp. 76 and 77; and Holmes (1), plate XXXVIII.

[4] Karsten (1), pp. 34 and 35.

[5] von Rosen (8), p. 114 et seq. and Gustafson (1).

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Fig. 179. A girl, and the lover she has chosen for herself. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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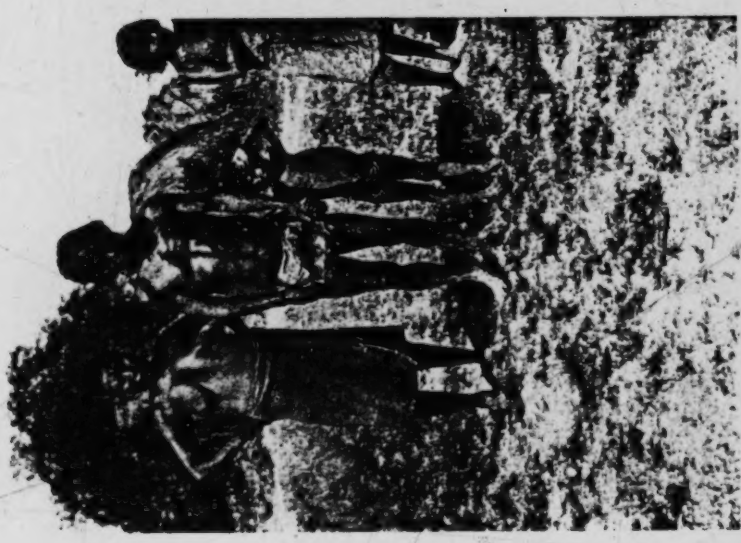

Fig. 178. A chief, with his son and two of his three wives. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

Steinen,[1] Koch-Grünberg[2] and Karsten[3] have made specially thorough research into questions connected with this matter.

From primitive peoples it is, however, exceedingly difficult to obtain thoroughly reliable information. In order to get rid of a tiresome questioner, a negro, or an Indian, will often reply in the way he thinks most pleasing to his interrogator. Information received by means of an interpreter, is not unfrequently unreliable. This explains how statements which are absolutely erroneous have found their way into the works of even the most painstaking ethnographers. Another pitfall consists in drawing hasty conclusions based on analogies. There is this to be remembered; that primitive peoples' process of thinking sometimes runs along lines which deviate entirely from those of civilized man, for which reason conditions which, to us, appear analogous may, to the primitive mind, not necessarily appear as being in any way connected.

Although it has not yet been conclusively proved that all Choroti ornaments are of a magic character, it is nevertheless not improbable that such is the case. About many of the ornamental objects of the Choroti there are thoroughly trustworthy proofs as to their magic character. When from two or more members of a tribe circumstantial and practically identical, accounts of the magic properties of some ornamental object have been obtained, there can, of course, be no hesitation in accepting that the object in question is, by the Indians, regarded as a kind of amulet.

Among the finest of Choroti ornaments possessing a magic character I am inclined to class the frontlets and hair-nets of red woollen fabric (figs. 41, 46 and 47) that the Choroti use on occasions of especial importance. Several Choroti stated to me that these full-dress articles of apparel were worn not only as ornaments, but also as charms against evil spirits, and the same belief prevails among the Lengua as regards *their* ornaments of a corresponding kind (see fig. 42).[4]

That the Choroti regard their ear-lobe discs (see figs. 53—55) as possessing magic properties, I have already stated in connexion with my account of the character of those ornaments (pp. 62—66).

[1] E. g., von den Steinen (2).
[2] E. g., Koch-Grünberg (3).
[3] Karsten (4).
[4] Grubb (1), pp. 70 and 71.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

301 751 As regards snail- and mussel-shell necklaces (figs. 56—58) it should be specially mentioned that those of the first-named kind, at least, are by the Choroti looked upon as amulets for warding off illness and other evil things.[1] It is not improbable that necklaces made out of glass beads, which have been obtained from the whites, are also held to be amulets. This because of the fact that, among many primitive peoples, the belief has been observed that such glass beads as in modern times they have acquired by way of trading[2] possess magic properties,[3] as well as do the glass-[4] or stone beads[5] that they themselves have found in ancient dwelling-site deposits or graves.

Occasionally the Choroti wear anklets of birdskin, or ostrich (Rhea) feathers tied together (fig. 59). On page 71) I have mentioned that [825] these anklets are not exclusively ornaments, but that they also serve a purely practical purpose. The fact is that the Choroti, as well as other Chaco Indians, regard them as a protection against snake-bite, in that a snake is more likely to strike at the feathers that are on the anklet than at the leg, or foot, of the one who is wearing it. Karsten states, on the authority of Grubb, that the Lengua for the same reason wear anklets made of feathers. But to Karsten this natural explanation is not sufficient, for he remarks that Grubb might have added that these anklets are, at the same time, looked upon as amulets, because the Indians believe that an evil spirit accompanies the snake venom in entering the foot of a person bitten.[6] Karsten endeavours to show that all feather ornaments are, by the Choroti Indians, regarded as magic objects.[7]

006 Most primitive peoples ascribe magical properties to many of their belongings. For example, our Viking forefathers largely regarded their weapons and other equipment as possessing magical powers. It is well known that the Vikings believed that, for instance, swords, and other edged implements, in some magic way could give their owners protection against evil spirits. But the main purpose of swords and edged tools was

[1] Karsten (4), p. 139.
[2] See for example von Rosen (4), p. 303.
[3] See fig. 182: 30—31, and text on pp. 169 and 170.
[4] See, e. g., von Rosen (1), p. 351.
[5] See, e. g., von Rosen (1) p. 200.
[6] »He might have added that they are at the same time regarded as magical charms, since with the snake's poison an evil spirit is believed to enter the foot.» Karsten (4), p. 119.
[7] Karsten (4), Chap. III.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

as a rule a practical one, although the articles might, *apart from that*, be of magic use. In the same way many of our Northern ornamental objects might be attributed with a magical character, although my belief is that, e. g., the »heirloom» silver ornaments of our peasantry were more appreciated because of their decorativeness than for any supposed magic properties of theirs. Naturally, also among us there were then ornaments (e. g., Tor's hammers) whose supernatural-, was more obvious than their decorative, character, and such cases may be considered as typical amulets.

These points of view I also consider applicable when reviewing the ornaments of the Choroti.

For it appears to me that, in the case of the Choroti, a differentiation can be made between typical amulets and ornaments to which magic properties are ascribed.

Objects of the latter kind are always worn in full view; they are usually carefully made or worked, and have, as a rule, a decorative, often startlingly showy, appearance. If one asks a Choroti why he is wearing such an ornament, the answer which one as a rule obtains is merely that it looks well, or that it is useful to wear. Occasionally one may get the reply that the ornament is of use against evil spirits, but in such cases it is my firm opinion that, to the Indians, the object's magic character is of less consequence than its being pretty or making a pompous show.

Such objects as I should like to call typical amulets are exclusively, or mainly, of a magic character. Amulets of this kind are often, although not always, entirely devoid of all pretence to beauty. They not infrequently consist of unworked objects, from nature, such as claws of animals, head-carapaces of armadillos, bits of skin, tufts of hair, and other things. They are often worn so as to be out of sight, say in a bag, or under the clothes. Figs. 183 and 184 represent typical specimens of this kind of amulet. To distinguish between these two groups of objects *only from their appearance*, is, however, quite impossible. It must be remembered that claws, teeth, etc., are capable of being put together and arranged into ornaments which are very attractive from an esthetic point of view, but as the supposed magic power of the claws and teeth ought rather to increase than decrease by being placed in contiguity, ornaments that have been composed in this way would constitute implements in which the magic qualities were valued by their owners far more than the esthetic.

301 789 That in primitive man there is an instinct for self-ornamentation, I consider cannot be doubted. In children this instinct is found, and it is possibly also traceable among animals.[1]

[224]

Fig. 183. Hunting amulet. A jaguar or puma claw. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 399.

Fig. 184. Hunting amulet. The carapace of an armadillo's head. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 400.

000 According to my opinion, flowers and snail-shells were certainly used as ornaments by our race long before the dawn of such mental development as made possible the idea of supernatural things. Prior to this, no »magic» properties of any kind were, of course, ascribable to natural objects. The faculty of sensing beauty in a material form is bound to be

[1] Apes and monkeys, in captivity, are sometimes said to try decorating themselves with necklaces, hats, etc. This may, however, result only from a desire to imitate. More remarkable, it seems to me, is that elephants, camels, horses and dogs are said to show evident satisfaction when gaily decked out.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XVII.

Objects for deforming the Body.

The Chaco tribes here dealt with wear no labrets, do not bore through the nasal septum, do not deform the head, and do not strap their calves in an unnatural way. The (1) Choroti, (2) Ashluslay and some (9C) Mataco Indians (Mataco-Guisnay), however, bore the flap of the ear, all the men, and some of the women, wearing blocks of wood or pieces of cane in, it so that the flap surrounds the objects like the tyre of a bicycle wheel.

Ear appendages (Map 18) of the kind here in question are not worn by any other Indian tribe I visited. Some of the Toba (X 8) wear them, but I did not visit this section. Several of the tribes known to me, however, wear rings, small blocks of wood or teeth etc. in their ears.

The custom of forcing the flap of the ear round a block of wood or the like, was universal in old (18) Peru[1]). The Indian chiefs in the Inca kingdom, who wore these ear-blocks, were called «orejones» by the Spaniards. Numerous ear appendages of this kind[2]), as well as earthenware vessels with figures of Indians thus adorned[3]), have been found on the Peruvian coast (A, K). For the rest, they are found in Brazil among the Botocudo (45)[4]), among the (67) Suyá[5]),-

[1]) Cobo, Vol. 4, p. 159.
[2]) Baessler, Pl. 27, fig. 399—403; Reiss and Stübel, Vol. 3, Pl. 78.
[3]) Also in (J) Tiahuanaco. Posnansky.
[4]) Wied, Vol. 2, p. 5.
[5]) v. d. Steinen (2), p. 207.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XIX.

Trinkets and Knick-knacks.

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The Choroti and the Ashluslay make use of a number of trinkets[1]) of various kinds, made of feathers, shells, etc.

Snail shell beads, made of the shell of the Borus oblongus, are used in the Chaco for necklaces and other ornaments. I have seen these beads among the Choroti, Mataco, Ashluslay, Toba, Tapiete, Chiriguano, (rarely) and Huari; LERY[2]) SOARES DE SOUSA[3]) and STADEN[4]) mention them from the Tupinambá, HAWTREY[5]) from the Lengua, AZARA[6]) from the Payaguá, SÁNCHEZ-LABRADOR[7]) from the Mbayá, COMINGES[8]) from the Guaná, V. D. STEINEN[9]) from the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá. MEDINA[10]) following NAJERA, relates that the Araucanians had them at first. CASTILLO[11]) mentions them from the Mojo GUMILLA[12]) from

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[1]) I can only mention the most important here.

[2]) p. 99.

[3]) p. 284.

[4]) Vol. 2, p. (16).

[5]) p. 282.

[6]) (1), p. 127.

[7]) Vol. 1 p. 182.

[8]) p. 306.

[9]) (3) p. 182.

[10]) p. 171.

[11]) p. 325.

•Sartas de lentejuelas hechas de caracol blanco, mayores que las ordinarias en el cuello.

[12]) Vol. 1. p. 141.

[text continues on p. 126]

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

the Indians on the R. Orinoco, BIET [1]) and BARRERE [2]) from the Galibi. [3])

RIVET[4]) has published a résumé of the finds of these snail shell beads revealed by archaeological excavations in S. America. He mentions finds from a number of places in Columbia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile. For the details I refer to his work.

To RIVET's resumé I can add Caipipendi, Bolivia, where I found innumerable snail shell beads in the graves.

The Chaco Indians here dealt with, the Choroti and Ashluslay sometimes sew these beads onto material (Fig. 32) as *spangles* (Map 20). I have seen these spangles, moreover, among the Mataco and Toba but not among any other tribe visited by me.

Fig. 32. Piece of a frontlet with spangles of snail shell beads. Choroti. G. M. (D. 96) 1/2.

The same custom was known on the Coast (A) of Peru[5]). MEDINA[6]) following ERCILLA mentions it from the (10) Araucanians, CABRERA[7]) from the «Juries».

The (8) Lengua Indians also sew snail shell beads onto material.[8]) The (12) Mbayá seem to have done so to a still greater extent than is now customary in the Chaco[9]). Spangling probably reached the Chaco from the culture zone in the west.

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[1]) p. 353.

[2]) p. 194.

[3]) The résumé could be supplemented to a very great extent by going through the unpublished collections in the large museums. I therefore do not include a map of the geographical distribution of the snail beads.

[4]) (4). p. 259.

[5]) REISS AND STÜBEL, Vol. 3. Pl. 79.

[6]) p. 171.

[7]) p. 140.

[8]) GRUBB p. 70.

[9]) SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, Vol. 1. p. 282.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

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These round beads are cleverly threaded (Fig. 33).

The Ashluslay and the Choroti also wear necklaces of square snail shell beads (Fig. 34) with two holes in each.

Fig. 33. Part of a necklace of snail shell beads. Choroti G. M. (D. 90) 1/1.

The snail shell bead necklaces are the kind most characteristic of the Indians here dealt with, but the Ashluslay and Choroti have quite a number of other necklaces, of seed grain, teeth, pieces of straw and leaves, glass beads, etc. Most Indians, save the Fuegians, probably also wear perforated teeth as ornaments. I have some in my collections from the Choroti, Ashluslay, Atsahuaca, Chacobo, Cháma, Guarayú (Pauserna), Huanyam, Huari, Mataco, Tambopata-Guarayo, Yamiaca and Yuracáre. Perforated teeth are here included among the cultural elements about whose origin I know nothing certain. The same is true of trinkets of seeds, pieces of straw, etc. At present the geographical distribution of these objects cannot be determined in a satisfactory manner. This is the more impossible without going through the unpublished collections of all the large museums.

Fig. 34. Piece of a necklace of snail shell beads. Choroti G. M. (D. 70) 1/1.

The Choroti and the Ashluslay Indians often wear a broad woven band tied round the head and ornamented, occasionally with fea-

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2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

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thers, not rarely with snail shell beads. The custom of wearing these *frontlets* undoubtedly derives from the mountain culture.[1]) (Map 21) In the Inca realm the frontlet was a token of honour.[2])

I have seen these frontlets among the (1) Choroti, (6) Mataco, (7) Toba, (3) Tapiete, (2) Ashluslay, (4) Chiriguano and (5) Chané, but among no Indians in N.E. Bolivia. The woven frontlet is, moreover, known from the (17) Abipone[3]) (26) Patagonians[4]) (10) Araucanians[5]) (8) Lengua[6]) (21) Cainguá[7]) and (6 V) Guaná[8]) Numerous frontlets have been found on the coast of Peru (A)[9]).

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Fig. 35. Hairnet. Ashluslay. G. M. (B. 94). 1/1.

The idea underlying the beautiful hair-nets decorated with snail shell beads (Fig. 35) which are sometimes seen among the Choroti and Ashluslay, probably also reached these Indians from the culture zone in the west, where they had hair-nets[10]) as well as the same

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[1]) Cobo Vol. 4. p. 162; Uhle (2) p. 39.

[2]) Pelleschi compares the frontlets of the Chaco Indians with those that were used by the Incas. His explanation, however, of the occurrence of this cultural element in the Chaco, is not that the Indians in the Chaco learnt the use of the woven frontlet from the Incas, but runs as follows: »Now this custom must have pre-existed among some at least of the primitive peoples of the Empire, since we find it here in the Chaco, and we attribute to the Incas merely the law as to its use; their system being to regulate every person and everything by laws.» p. 24.

[3]) Dobrizhoffer, Vol. 2. p. 130.

[4]) Outes (3). p. 254; Falkner, p. 111.

[5]) Medina p. 168.

[6]) Gruber, p. 70.

[7]) Outes and Bruch (5) p. 94. fig. 77.

[8]) Cominges, 306.

[9]) Reiss and Stübel, Vol. 3. Pl. 75.

[10]) G. M. (10. 9. 78); Reiss and Stübel, Vol. 3. Pl. 30 fig. 2, 9 and. 10.

[text continues on p. 130]

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

technique in knitting as is seen in the hairnets in the Chaco[1]) on the Peruvian coast. The Lengua Indians have very similar hair-nets to those of the Choroti and Ashluslay[2]).

RADIN[3]) mentions hair-nets like caps from the Suyá, Yurúna and Karajá. They are also found among the Mataco[4]).

The use of *tassels* (Fig. 36) on cords of various kinds is clearly a custom that came to the Chaco from the culture zone in the west. Within the area of my investigations I

Fig. 36. Hair-band with tassels. Ashluslay. R. M. (A. 5). 1/2.

Fig. 37. Hair-band with tassels. Quichua mestizo. Calilegua. N. Argentina. R. M. (n. 12). 1/2.

found these tassels among the Choroti, Ashluslay, Mataco, Toba, Chiriguano, Chané, Aymara and Quichua (Fig. 37) but among no tribe on the plain north of Sta. Cruz de la Sierra. Tassels are common on the textile fabrics found on the Peruvian coast[5]).

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[1]) G. M. (P. 1.)
[2]) HAWTHORN, p. 282.
[3]) p. 929.
[4]) R. M. (03. 4. 412), R. M. (03. 4. 413).
[5]) See, e. g. REISS and STÜBEL, Vol. 3. Pl. 75. fig. 4. 5. 9.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
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The tassels of the Ashluslay, here depleted, are similar to those used on their head-bands by the Quichua mestizos in the Calilegua Mountains of N. Argentina (Fig. 37).

The Choroti sometimes wear an ornament on the forehead[1]) in the form of a *thread-cross* (Fig. 38, Map 22).

The distribution of the thread-cross throughout the world has been studied by Foy. From S. America he gives: (55) Arawaks (Guayana), (13) Karajá (15) Kayapó, (14) Bororó, (75) Angaité, (1) Choroti, (6), Mataco-Vejos, (A) Peruvian coast and (T) Antióquia in Columbia.

It is notable that the thread-cross commonly occurs on the Peruvian coast together with the so-called mummy packets. It probably had a religious significance there.

I will return later on to the question of the origin in the Chaco of the thread-cross.

Fig. 38. Thread-cross, frontlet. Choroti, G. M. (D. 143). 1/4.

The young men of the Choroti and Ashluslay use *plumes*, of course. Feathers are sometimes sewn to the frontlet. Ostrich feathers, with cuttings in them, are often sewn into the frontlet. SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR[2]) speaks of them among the Mbayá. Round the instep and the upper arm the young men often wear plumes.

Plumes round the feet are very characteristic of the Indians in the Gran Chaco. Among others, HAWTREY[3]) mentions them from the Lengua, and DUCCI[4]) from the Toba.

The Ashluslay and the Choroti often wear a »brush» of hair or feathers stuck

[1]) The thread-cross was possibly not only an adornment among the Choroti, but also an amulet. However, as I heard nothing from the Indians to that effect, and as they have no compunction in selling thread-crosses, I look upon the thread-cross for the present as an ornament.

[2]) Vol. 1. p. 214.

[3]) p. 283.

[4]) p. 10.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

in the frontlet. Similar adornments are customary among the Lengua[1]). I have not seen this species of adornment outside the Chaco.

The plumes seen in the Chaco differ considerably from those seen among the Indian tribes in N.E. Bolivia. Here we almost entirely miss the use of parrots feathers, and yet there are very gay-coloured little parrots in the Chaco. Ostrich feathers are chiefly used. As basket-weaving is unknown, the feathers are never mounted, as so often in Brazil, on woven basket-frames. But, on the other hand, it is customary, as we have observed, to fasten the feathers onto some material, a custom I never observed among the Indians of N.E. Bolivia.

The custom of fastening feathers onto material, appears to me to have originated in the mountain culture.

A common material for making ornaments in the Chaco, is hide and leather. In my collections from the Choroti and the Ashluslay, there are foot-ligaments, wristlets and armlets of leather, and caps and frontlets of hide, particularly jaguar skin. The leather armlets, as also often other adornments, such as the ear-blocks, are covered with pieces of tinplate.

SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR[2]) is of the opinion that this custom derives from Peru. The assertion is of interest, as this is the first time, as far as I know, that anyone has adduced ethnographical proofs of Inca influence in the Chaco.

Few adornments are worn by the women in the Chaco. The Ashluslay women have armlets of strips of deer-skin. DUCCI[3]) speaks of these from the Toba, and, according to him, they are worn as amulets against lightning. I have not seen them elsewhere. The women occasionally wear necklaces of seed-grains.

Both men and women wear *rings*, which consist of seg-

[1]) HAWTREY, p. 282.
[2]) Vol. 2. p. 289.
[3]) p. 10.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
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Ashluslay SK5

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ments of the skin of lizard's tail. I have not seen such rings outside the Chaco. From books I only know them from the Karajá[1]) and the Šavajé[2]). I have not attempted to determine their geographical distribution. As in similar cases, this can only be done by working through the collections of all the large ethnographical museums. Few writers of books give any particulars about such unimportant objects.

[1]) KRAUSE, p. 439.
[2]) Ibid. p. 358.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
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being thus rare objects, as e. g., on the table-lands of the Andes. One calabash which the Mataco-Vejos[1]) have mended was obtained by them originally from the Chané. It is beautifully ornamented and thus, probably, appeared to them more valuable than their own calabashes. It was therefore considered to be worth the trouble of mending.

Feather-work.

There is one small work[2]) on different kinds of feather-technique in S. America. It is not, however, full enough to give information as to the distribution of different forms of this technique. Nor am I in possession of sufficient data of comparison to be able to draw a map showing the distribution of the different methods of binding feathers.

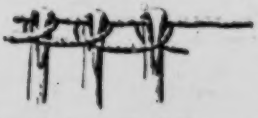

Fig. 69. Illustration showing how the feathers are bound in a footband.

From fig. 69 we see how feathers are bound by the Ashluslay and Choroti into footbands (ankle-ornaments), girdles and the like. It is usual, also, to bind ostrich feathers quite simply around a string. The footbands are partly made in this wise.

In the Chaco it is not uncommon to sew feathers on to cloth. Among the Indians I have visited elsewhere in S. America, I am not aware of this custom. In ancient Peru feathers were often sewn on to mantles, etc.

A peculiar custom among the Indians of the Chaco — the Choroti and others — is that of cutting notches out of the feathers in their brow-bands exactly like some of the North American Indians. In S. America I only know the custom from

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[1]) R. M. (M. 1048).
[2]) Mead (2).

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

other Chaco tribes and from Guiana[1]). As regards the Chaco this custom is mentioned by SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR from the Mbayá[2]).

Leather-making.

The Choroti and Ashluslay do not understand the art of tanning. They show skill, however, in making leather soft by scraping. I did not observe any point of anthropogeographical interest in their method of preparing leather.

[1]) GOEJE (1), Pl. 3, 1, 2. Ojana.
[2]) Vol. 1, p. 214.

1: Métraux--324 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

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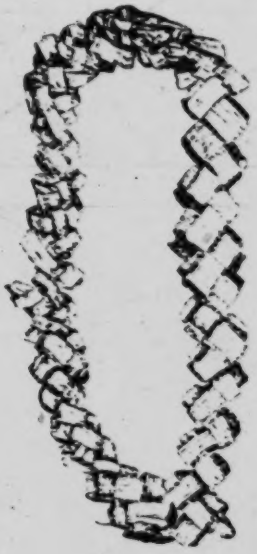

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Fig 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

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Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig. 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci /321 cont./

301 Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they
302 pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and
171 they also stain their faces.

Ci In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown
648 themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they
[464] have lent important services and it was they who saved the life of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M
131 These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo
101 facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti, since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's
101 language with very little difference; their customs are nearly
181 identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful
241 nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and
231 other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of
197 domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and chickens.

M Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the
167 Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons,
177 in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild
464 boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.
224

They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it
M seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to
174 some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they
771 recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great
776 ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in
[756] sorcerers a power that they do not have.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK 6

In subtropical land like the Chaco, where the weather is often very hot especially during the »summer-times», dress is naturally of the most simple kind. Both among the Mataco, the Choroti, and the Tobas, the most important article of the man's clothing is a small cotton waist-cloth which serves as a covering and protection for the genitals. In addition to this waist-cloth the Mataco and the Choroti formerly wore a kind of broad fringed leather-belt round the loins, whereas the Tobas covered the genitals with a small apron of skin or stuff. The rest of the body is among all the tribes generally kept entirely naked or is only covered by the usual necklaces and other ornaments, or by red *urucú*-painting. When the weather is cold, and on festival occasions, the men also wear big woollen blankets with interwoven linear patterns mostly in red colour. The blankets of the Lenguas and other tribes in eastern Chaco often show designs denoting venomous snakes etc., but such patterns are unknown to the Choroti, and where they are found they have originally been obtained from the interior of the country. Weaving is among all Chaco tribes exclusively a work incumbent on the women.

The Choroti man adjusts his blanket in different ways. In cold or wet weather it is wrapped round the body so as to cover one or both shoulders; when it is hot, he allows it to fall in a double fold from his waist, where it is either fastened by a belt or by tucking the folds of one corner into the other.

The usual clothing of the women is a short cotton petticoat reaching from the waist to a little below the knees, the upper part of the body remaining unclothed. This petticoat formerly consisted of deer or nutria skins sewn together, but since the present-day Choroti are poor hunters such skin loin-clothes are now rarely seen. According to Mr. Hunt, young Choroti girls have nowadays adopted the female dress of the Chiriguano (Avas), a kind of sleeveless, waistless gown caught at the shoulders with a couple of safety pins and known under the name of *tipoy*. At the time when I travelled in the Chaco these *tipoys* were only known to the women among the Bolivian Tobas, but not to the Choroti women, who always kept the upper part of their body uncovered and, in opposition to the Toba women, never showed any shame at displaying their bare breasts. A few necklaces, beads, or twisted feathers replace clothing on these nude parts of the body. Many of the personal ornaments of both men and women have the character of amulets or charms and will therefore be dealt with later on in connection with the religion of the natives.

Much the same may be said of the dress of the Mataco and the Tobas. Both of these tribes, and especially the Mataco, have been influenced

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

The *ear-tubes* which are worn as ornaments for instance by the Choroti, Ashluslay and Toba-Pilagá and which consist of wooden plugs or pieces of cane, sometimes of tremendous size, are likewise nothing but magical charms or amulets. This was clearly indicated by the Choroti, who told me that the ear-discs are worn to prevent the evil spirits, the *möhsek*, from penetrating into the ears. Their hugeness and peculiarity is evidently thought to act as a deterrent upon the spirits, and there seems to be the idea that the larger they are the more efficacious.

The Indians of the Pilcomayo use various kinds of *necklaces*, and it seems to be the rule that among the most primitive tribes, such as the Choroti and Ashluslay, they are more worn by men than by women, among the more civilized Tobas again more by women than by men. Speaking of the dress of the Choroti, I mentioned the large and costly kind of necklace consisting of snail's shells elaborately fashioned into small round buttons with a hole drilled in the centre and closely strung together. The necklace, called *lähslehuésle* in the Choroti language, is not only an ornament but at the same time a magical charm. The Choroti no doubt gave me the true explanation of their original significance when they told me that the necklace is a protection against sickness. The evil spirits, according to the idea of these Indians, preferably attach themselves to the throat or the chest, because catarrhs are very common in the Chaco during the dry season. The spirits are believed to enter into the body through the throat or the breast, but this is prevented by the protecting necklace. Hence, when a Choroti Indian sells his necklace or leaves off wearing it, his comrades say that he will most certainly soon fall ill. The same idea I found prevailing among the Mataco-Nocténes of Bolivia, where such ornaments are worn by both sexes. Thus the son of a chief, who was just at the age of puberty, one day appeared painted red in the face with *urucú*, and with a large necklace which covered the neck and the breast. When I asked the father why his son had put on these things, he answered: »It is in order that he may not fall ill». Both among the Mataco and the Choroti it is customary that children of both sexes go totally naked up to the age of eight to ten years, but nearly always they wear collars and facial paintings which most certainly are not »ornaments» in the civilized sense of the word.

Among the South American Indians in general it is a common custom to tie round a limb, for instance the wrist or the leg, a leather strap or some other kind of band, professedly with a view to making the arm or the leg strong. The Chaco Indians also commonly wear such ligatures